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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

• [183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukay. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My 'monki', Owiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

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While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

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Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind [illegible])